

REMARKS BY
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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

I am very pleased to participate this morning in the current activities of your Staff College. The excellent work carried out through your Civil Defense Program is well known and has attained its present stature, I am sure, because of the effort of General Huebner and his staff and of the rest of you here who take an active part in the Program.

Survival training of our citizens, and arming them with essential knowledge, depends on a civil defense effort of the type you are developing here. Recently, I visited your State Control Center at the Commission's headquarters in New York City, and was greatly impressed by the comprehensiveness of the communications net, with its warning system, and by the efficiency with which it is being manned and used on a 24-hour basis.

- 2 -

The realism of the actions planned in case of an emergency forestalls any possible feeling of complacency. Should a nuclear attack strike our country, an alert civil defense such as yours would certainly play a major role in reducing sharply the casualty level that otherwise would inevitably be the consequence.

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Today, I want to refer to another arm of our national security, the Central Intelligence Agency, and its role in the preparation and coordination of intelligence within the Government. The United States has carried on intelligence activities since the days of George Washington, but only since World War II has our intelligence come of age.

At the national level, it has acquired new responsibilities because of its contribution to the complex machinery of policy formulation within the US Government. Intelligence is now an exacting profession, manned by experienced officers who apply intelligence techniques that have been painstakingly developed over the last decade and a half.

In 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency was established by the same Act of Congress which created the National Security Council and the Department of Defense. Here was clear recognition

- 3 -

of the role that accurate and up-to-date coordinated intelligence must play in national security policy considerations. The intelligence flowing to the President and to his principal advisors on foreign policy -- the National Security Council -- must be timely and complete. This type of intelligence, which is not only essential for formulating national security policy but also goes beyond the needs or capabilities of any single department, is generally called national intelligence.

The coordinating mechanism for bringing together the information and views of other departments in a single National Intelligence Estimate is the United States Intelligence Board. The Director of Central Intelligence, Allen W. Dulles, is Chairman of this Board. Other members are the intelligence representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, of the Military Services, and others who have capabilities in the collection field or in the analysis of intelligence. Included on the Board are representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and of the Atomic Energy Commission. The organizations represented form the core of what is referred to as the intelligence community.

You will be particularly interested in knowing that there are people throughout the intelligence community who are constantly alert to any move abroad that might be indicative of imminent

- 4 -

hostile action which could endanger the security of the United States, and who have immediate access to the most sensitive information received. This intelligence activity is carried on 24 hours a day, every day. Should a situation which might be critical to our security interests develop, the Director of Central Intelligence and the other members of the Intelligence Board would be informed at once.

Just one month ago, Nikita Khrushchev told us, and here I quote him:

"Almost the entire military air force is being replaced by rocket equipment. ... In our country the armed forces have been to a considerable extent transferred to rocket and nuclear arms."

Later in the speech, he said:

"Now if war begins ... states will have the means to deliver weapons over thousands of kilometers. ... There would not be ... a single strategic area which would not be subjected to attack, not only during the first days, but during the first minutes of the war."

With the technological advances in the field of weaponry, it clearly will become increasingly possible for an aggressor

- 5 -

to attack with very little warning. In order to minimize the possibility of surprise, it is of paramount importance, therefore, that the earliest possible intelligence is provided on the potential aggressor's probable moves in readying for attack.

Now I would like to turn to the intelligence support provided for longer-range planning and policy formulation. While the National Security Council advises the President both on policy and on plans for its execution, one of its primary roles lies in the formulation of policy. To insure that the Council members are fully acquainted with intelligence relating to current situations in foreign areas, the first agenda item at each meeting is a briefing by the Director of Central Intelligence. The Council members frequently query the Director on important points brought up in these briefings. Such presentations by the Director to the National Security Council are regarded as essential intelligence support to policy formulation.

In addition, the Council needs intelligence estimates on individual countries, geographic regions, or particular situations confronting our nation. These National Intelligence Estimates, mentioned earlier, are USIB-coordinated papers resulting from detailed analysis and distillation of the facts and the estimative

- 6 -

judgments of a group of highly competent and skilled intelligence officers. A unanimity of views is not always reached by the USIB members in their consideration of an Estimate. Dissents made by individual members of USIB also are sent forward.

As soon as completed, these Estimates are sent to the National Security Council's Planning Board. This Board does the spade-work for the Council. The estimates provide the intelligence background so essential to the Board's deliberations. Indeed, its requirements usually determine the timing of an Estimate's preparation. Robert Amory, Jr., the Deputy Director for Intelligence in the Agency, regularly sits with the Planning Board.

One last point relating to intelligence production. These Estimates and many other important intelligence reports could not have been produced without the "back-up" provided by a large and well-trained group of men and women, from various parts of the Government, conducting diverse tasks both here and abroad.

Our country's ever-expanding responsibilities have increased the need for factual information on developments in all parts of the world. Here, speed and precision of reporting are vital to

- 7 -

our security. Then comes the sifting, analysis, and synthesis of these facts which must be undertaken to produce balanced intelligence. This too is a complex and complicated operation, requiring people of special skills and professional talents.

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Now, let us consider some of our intelligence findings that may have particular interest to this audience. First, I shall say a few words about the Soviet military threat; secondly, their organization for civil defense; and thirdly, some points regarding their concept of "peaceful coexistence."

The Kremlin leaders want to develop a military establishment second to none. The continuous diversion in the postwar period by the Soviets of their economic resources to military purposes has been without precedent in peacetime. Although the Gross National Product, or total annual output, of the Soviet economy is less than half of ours, we calculate that the total value of their current military effort is roughly equal to our own in dollar terms.

What are some of the key elements of Soviet military strength?

- 8 -

Last month, in a speech to the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Khrushchev revealed his plans to reduce the size of his armed forces from their present strength, as stated by him, of about 3.6 million men to a little over 2.4 million men. Of course, he tried to realize the maximum propaganda value from this announcement, using it as an indication of "peaceful intention." However, such troop cuts would be in line with the decreasing number of young men reaching military conscription age and with the growing needs of the economy for labor.

Soviet ground forces are re-equipped with modern weapons and, while being reduced in numbers, their firepower has increased. There is evidence, as well, that Soviet troops have been trained in the employment of tactical nuclear weapons.

Communist leaders have put major emphasis on improving their country's air defense. They have modern aircraft for day and night defense of the homeland. Powerful radars have been erected around most of the USSR's borders as well as those of its European Satellites. And they also dot the coastline of Communist China.

While the Soviets, within the last decade, have produced a large and modern submarine fleet, they have not claimed any

- 9 -

laurels in the field of the nuclear-powered submarine. We are justified in concluding that we are ahead of them here. However, it is only prudent to assume that they will be producing nuclear-powered submarines capable of launching missiles, now that they have a nuclear-powered icebreaker in service.

Evidence supports Mr. Khrushchev's contention that the Soviet Union is going to rely less on bombers and more on missiles. While the Soviets do have some long-range bombers, most of their so-called "long-range" air force is equipped with medium-range bombers.

You are all aware of Mr. Khrushchev's boast of strength with ballistic missiles. From time to time, the Free World has been subjected to Soviet missile-rattling in periods of crisis.

Their progress in missiles is not the result of any magic. At the end of World War II, German V1's and V2's, associated production machinery, and German missile specialists were taken to the Soviet Union. Although exploitation of the German scientists hastened the Soviet missile program, the Soviets did not lack in native ability and, through their own technological achievements over the past decade, have been steadily building up their missile capability.

- 10 -

The geographic separation of the USSR from the United States, in Soviet eyes, must have given added strategic value to the long-range ballistic missile. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Soviets have concentrated so heavily on this weapon.

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The leaders in the Kremlin have also been giving increasing attention since 1954 to civil defense measures that would provide protection of the urban population against nuclear attack.

Soviet civil defense officials have a voice in approving building plans and in city planning. Some of the broad streets and the wide spaces between buildings, which are characteristic of new Soviet city plans, are in part due to civil defense considerations relating to the control of fire.

The large part of the new State housing construction in urban areas of the USSR consists of masonry apartment dwellings, whose basements may be adaptable for use as shelters. As designed, the Soviet basement shelters in masonry buildings could be equipped with filter ventilating systems for defense against radioactive dust.

The rapid construction of apartment buildings in the Soviet Union over the past several years, and the plans to increase the

- 11 -

pace of such building through 1965, means that the opportunity exists for an increasing percentage of the urban population to be provided with some form of shelter. However, for the most part, this would be of the light type, likely to be effective against fallout but not able to withstand much blast.

Schematics of heavier air raid shelters, such as bunkers and tunnels, began to appear in Soviet literature in 1956. The use of subways as shelter is prescribed. The Moscow subway, which is still being expanded, sheltered as many as 750,000 people during the last war and was equipped then with steel doors and air filters.

Those who do not have formal shelter available are instructed in how to build field-type, wood-lined trenches covered with about two feet of earth. These are to be constructed in parks and open areas or in rural regions upon government notification that a "threatening situation" exists.

Until 1958, Soviet civil defense instructions advised everyone to use nearby shelter for air defense. Subsequent planning includes partial evacuation of cities.

Until very recently, civil defense in the USSR has been a responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) which

- 12 -

also controlled the police (militia) and firefighting forces. The permanent command and staff organization for civil defense has been the Local Antiair Defense (MPVO). Lieutenant General O. V. Tolstikov, who was a First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, has been identified as the senior civil defense official in the USSR.

While undoubtedly some of the responsibilities for civil defense, formerly carried out by the MVD, have been transferred to regional and local governments, central direction has most probably been allocated to one of the military ministries. (I am sure you all know that the reasons for abolishing the MVD last month had nothing to do with its civil defense activities. The Soviet people had no love for the MVD; its elimination is in line with the reforms carried out since 1954 to reduce internal tension, and to build up support for the government.)

The Soviet civil defense organization parallels the governmental structure from the national level to the city block or factory. MPVO units in cities use a nucleus of trained police, fire, medical, and other personnel. Each factory, farm, or housing unit in the USSR is obligated to form a "self-defense" group of civilian volunteers, usually about forty people in each,

- 13 -

who are organized into blackout, firefighting, first-aid, and other teams.

The training of these "self-defense" groups and the civil defense training of the civilian population is conducted by the paramilitary organization called DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and Navy) aided by the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Post-war civil defense training was initiated about 1947 with a goal of 5,000,000 trainees per year. Since 1955, this goal has been greatly expanded, and instructional material has been added on defense against nuclear weapons. It was planned that the total adult population of the USSR would complete each of three successive civil defense courses by 1960. Vigorous press attacks against shortcomings in this training are evidence of genuine concern for the eventual success of the program.

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We see, then, a build up in Soviet military strength. We see the Soviets attempting to accelerate their civil defense program. But, even though they may be emboldened by their increasing nuclear power and their growing potential with ballistic missiles, the Kremlin leaders realize they cannot use

- 14 -

their nuclear might without inviting their own nuclear destruction.

We have seen their foreign policy grow more assertive as their military capabilities increased. As shown by the deliberately contrived Berlin crisis, raised in 1958, we must assume that they will continue their belligerent probing to test us.

However, the communist leaders hope to gain their objectives mainly by non-military means. Their program of peaceful, but highly competitive, coexistence has two major parts -- the rapid internal build-up of economic strength, and the stepped-up export of communism, particularly to the underdeveloped nations of the Free World.

Some may be misled by a catchy slogan, such as "peaceful coexistence," to assume hopefully that a fundamental shift in Soviet doctrine has taken place. Actually, there is not the slightest reason to believe that the communist leaders have abandoned their basic objective of world domination. Their tactics change -- their drive to inherit the earth does not.

A former Soviet leader provided a clear definition of peaceful coexistence, and here I quote:

- 15 -

"Peaceful coexistence does not mean a quiet life.

As long as different social and political systems exist, contradictions between them are inevitable. Peaceful coexistence is a struggle -- a political struggle, an economic struggle, an ideological struggle."

The Soviet leaders are confident that forced-draft economic growth will demonstrate to the entire world the superiority of communism over capitalism,; it will also provide the industrial muscle the Kremlin needs to increase the influence of communism outside of its own backyard.

Soviet economic growth has been spectacular. In the short space of 30 years, by denying their own people the material benefits of their labor and by plowing back every possible ruble into economic expansion, the Kremlin leaders have brought the USSR to the position of second place among the world's industrial powers.

Furthermore, forced-draft industrialization remains a high priority objective. In the decade of the 1950's, Soviet industry grew at a rate at least twice as fast as that of the United States.

Now, the Soviets want to overtake the United States in per capita production. The current Seven Year Plan, which sets

- 16 -

Soviet goals for 1965, was designed to achieve a decisive step in this direction. It seems likely they will reach the 1965 industrial targets on time. Indeed, implementation of Khrushchev's plan to cut back military manpower and curtail certain conventional armament programs would probably assure the pre-fulfillment of these 1965 goals.

At the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution, held in 1957, the target date of 1970 was first unveiled as the time the United States would be overtaken and, in the words of the Kremlin speaker, "the Soviet Union will gain first place in the world (in the output of goods)." We see no possibility of this Soviet prediction being met. By 1970, we do believe that total Soviet output will be equal to about 55 percent of our own.

This forward surge in Soviet industrial output is not being directed toward giving the Russian people a fuller life. While there have been improvements in the Soviet standard of living in the past decade, and while further moderate gains are expected, the Kremlin leaders are using most of the gains in output to promote their imperialistic ambitions for world power.

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- 17 -

They have moved into high gear in pushing communism in the newly emerging independent and in the uncommitted nations of the world. They have an integrated program, directed from Moscow, which combines trade and aid, cultural exchanges, political and psychological propaganda and outright subversion. Their strategy is to infiltrate and absorb; to undermine and replace, and to take over without firing a shot, if possible.

Rapid economic growth is the indispensable core of the argument that communism is the wave of the future. In their radio broadcasts to Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, the USSR projects the image of the Soviet system as the magic blueprint for achieving rapid economic progress. We should not underestimate the attraction of such an image on the men of influence in the transitional societies of these areas -- men who are desperately seeking to lead their people in the quest for modernization and economic stability.

Khrushchev has admitted that the Soviet Bloc's economic relations with the underdeveloped nations of the Free World generally have not been profitable. However, he followed this by saying, "aid to the underdeveloped countries is necessary from a viewpoint of humanity and of genuine human solidarity."

- 18 -

Translating this from communist jargon, the Soviet leader is telling us that he is prepared to make heavy investments, in many forms, to bring the underdeveloped countries into the communist camp. In 1959 alone, the USSR itself extended a billion dollars of new credits to the less developed countries of the Free World.

This "peaceful coexistence" has its subversive side. In Mexico and Argentina, recently, Soviet Embassy personnel were caught red-handed in fomenting strikes -- a favorite technique.

Communists, native to the underdeveloped countries, are being trained in increasing numbers within the Soviet Union. Often these trainees arrive in Moscow with forged documents covering their illegal travel against the wishes of their own governments. They are being taught to exploit and pervert the natural aspirations of newly formed democratic parties and institutions, such as trade unions, in their own countries.

And the role of Communist China has been increasing. For example, the Latin American communists who were in Moscow for the 21st Party Congress, held last February, returned to their native countries via Peiping. Later, the Red Chinese stepped up their Spanish language broadcasts to those countries.

- 19 -

A Chinese Communist news service, the first from a Bloc country to be established in Cuba, took an active part in a conference of foreign news agencies in Havana three weeks ago. Chinese Communist influence can be seen also in the efforts of Cuba's local communist party to implant the Chinese model of "voluntary" peasant cooperatives in Fidel Castro's agrarian reform program. At the same time, the training of a native Latin American communist cadre is being carried out on Mainland China and is subsidized by the Peiping regime.

This is a familiar pattern. The combination of propaganda, economic blandishments, and subversion is emerging close to our own shores.

The leaders in Moscow and Peiping hope to isolate the United States by consolidating their position in the fragile parts of the non-communist world. Khrushchev and other members of the party elite show great confidence that the trend of world events is in their favor. They picture themselves as inheriting the world without running the disastrous risk of general nuclear war.

We cannot exclude the possibility that nuclear war will break out. There is always the chance of Soviet miscalculation during deliberately contrived periods of crisis. For example, Soviet

- 20 -

belligerence during a new, artificially created incident could lead to a series of measures and countermeasures by both East and West whose ultimate end would be a nuclear war. Indeed, as Soviet military power increases, there may well be increasing risks of miscalculation.

Finally, we should always keep in mind the ever present threat of the Kremlin's adventuristic partner, Communist China. None of the present leaders in Peiping has had any extensive contact with the United States or other democratic powers of the Free World. In Peiping they are unable to understand realistically the probable consequences of a future power grab -- with the successes of Korea, Vietnam, and Tibet fresh in their ambitious minds.

They are the hard-line communists who have no use for the soft sell of peaceful coexistence. Their recent blundering tactics, particularly toward India, have taken the velvet glove off the communist iron fist. Who indeed can be sure that the Communist Chinese will not blunder into armed conflict that could spread quickly to engulf the West?

Under these circumstances, we have no alternative but to keep our deterrent military power strong and alert.

- 21 -

As a vital part of our defense structure, you men face a tremendous job of overcoming the complacency of so many in our land, of training our citizens, and of marshalling our resources to respond quickly and effectively in the event of a surprise attack.

There will be no assured peace until the governments in Moscow and in Peiping are responsible to the Russian and the Chinese people -- not to the ambitious doctrines of international communism.

Thank you.

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